1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

648 624 ginger. On the thirteenth, the emperor graciously accepted the T'u-ssu's presents, consisting of two beautiful horses and samples of the products of the Monguor country. The T'u-ssu received a peacock plume with button, a straw hat, a collar of the design worn by officials of the fifth rank, a long coat with an embroidered medallion on the chest and back, and an official robe embroidered with dragons; together with a silk girdle, a purse, a knife to be hung from the girdle, a short and long coat of brocade, some small carpets, a splendid saddle rug, tea, and dried fruit. On the fourteenth, after a banquet and theatrical performance, he received a clock and a snuff-box. On the seventeenth, after another banquet, dinner and theatrical display, he received foodstuffs. On the eighteenth still another banquet and the theater again, and at night fire-works. On the nineteenth he went to offer his thanks to the emperor and received two pieces of brocade, two of silk, six of satin, and a piece of dried venison. On the twentieth he bade farewell to the emperor and left on the twenty-first. (Extracts from the family chronicles of Lu.)

These records give an idea of the pomp of such visits under the empire. The visit to the emperor and the honor of seeing him were the dream of a T'u-ssu and the summit of his glory; and the subjects who accompanied him liked to talk about the splendor of the imperial palace, the majesty of the emperor, and his graciousness toward their chief.

THE COMMONERS

● 174 Having elucidated the questions of the chiefs of the Monguor clans, their function as clan chiefs, the historical position of the first clan chief, the rules of succession and installation, and having explained the new kind of position that was acquired by becoming a Chinese official, with the title and duty of T'u-ssu, there remain the many fascinating problems of the origin and social evolution of the commoners.

To what original tribes did the commoners of the seventeen Monguor clans belong?

MONGOLS

I frequently inquired among both commoners and nobles about the names of the tribes to which they had belonged in time past, but to no avail. Not a single definite answer could be obtained. But since Potanin and Prjevalsku assert that they heard Monguors say that they were of "Chzhahor," or White Mongol, or Karluk origin, and since Father A. De Smedt heard some rare Monguors say that they were of Karluk origin, it is possible that among the commoners there still exist traceable descendants of these tribes. Failing an established tradition among the people themselves, is it possible to trace historically the origin of the commoners given as subjects to the Monguor clan chiefs by the Mongol emperors? The authors of the *Annals* of the prefecture of Hsining and of the province of Kansu,

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• 174 who seem to be reliable for dates and other facts, use the Chinese terms "T'u-jen, T'u-min" (aborigines), "Fan-min and Hsi-fan" (Tibetans), and "Mongol" so undiscriminatingly that it is impossible to identify the origin and the race of the commoners, as well of most of the nobles, except for the Ch'i and Lu clan, whose nobles are said to be members of the imperial family of the Yuan; one of the Ch'i clans whose nobles are said to be of Mongol origin; and the nobles of the Li clans, who are said to be of Shat'o origin and descendants of Li K'o-yung. The same confusion is obvious in the Ch'ing *Shih Kao*, Section *Lichchuan*, T'u-ssu *chuan*, VI, whose author seems to have extracted his material from the *Annals*.

Fortunately, more is available in the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u*, Chapter V. According to the introduction, this book was printed in 1751 and was compiled under the auspices of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung who ordered the governors of the provinces in which lived non-Chinese tribes that had submitted to the Manchus to send in reports about these tribes and to help artists, sent from Peking, to draw pictures showing the characteristics and costumes of each tribe. Although the material thus collected is limited, superficial, and reduced in most cases to the simple citation of the names of tribes, without noting the sources of quotations, and frequently includes no more than a vague description of the costumes worn by the tribesmen, it does offer some valuable data. This work, however, like others, confuses the origin both of "aboriginal" tribes and of Tibetans and Mongols. Those who made the report seem not to have cared about the origins of despised barbarians.

SHAT'O, TURKISH ORIGIN

In reading the texts related to our subject, it must be borne in mind that the tradition about the Shat'o origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the *Annals*, that in Chinese histories Shat'o tribes are noted as living between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, and that the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* confirms (or repeats) the data of Chinese history, the *Annals*, and tradition. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

In the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* our subject is twice mentioned:

I. Chapter V, pp. 46–47. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou vicinity governed by the Tuchihhui Ch'i Hsien-pang of Hsining *hsien*." Two figures are represented, of a man and a woman, described as "Tibetans" (*Fan*).

> The Tibetans [*Fan min*] of the eight tribes of Tungkou and vicinity, descendants of the Western Ch'iang, living 70 *li* and more from Hsining *hsien*, at the time of the Yuan dynasty were governed by Chi Kungk'ohsingchi, who held the incumbency of Li-wen [legal secretary]. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty he received the title of Chihhui Chihshih and governed the Tibetans. The Ch'ing dynasty recognized the former incumbency. . . . The Ti-

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor A59

betans of the twelve Paitieh tribes and others governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Ch'eng-t'ang, by the Chienshih Natsai, Chi Ying-k'ui, all use the same kind of clothes and adornments.

II. Chapter V, p. 55. The heading of the notice runs: "The tribes of Tungkou and other places governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Li Kuo-tung of Nienpei." Two figures are represented, described as "T'u people" (*T'u min*, "natives").

The Chihhui t'ungchih of Nienpei, Li Kuo-tung, is a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung of the T'ang dynasty. At the time of the Yuan dynasty Li Nan-ko held the incumbency of T'ungchih of Hsining *chou;* for generations they [the Li family] protected the western country; during the Ming dynasty, conducting his people, he submitted and received the office of Chihhui t'ungchih. The Ch'ing dynasty, because of his merits in summoning to submission Tibetan tribes and T'u people [natives], confirmed him [Li Kuo-tung] in his hereditary incumbency. The big village of Tungkou which he governed and the Hula tribes of T'u ["native"] stock which the Peihou Li Kuo-ting governed are the tribes they originally governed. . . . The tribes of T'u stock, Luerhchia and others, which are governed by the Tuchihhui t'ungchih Ah Cheng and Chao Wei-sung, the Chienchih Yeh Sun-yang, Kan Lin-chih, and Chu Sun-lin are in the main similar in customs, clothes and adornments.

In these two passages are mentioned the names of twelve Paitieh tribes who are called Tibetans, and of tribes named Hula and Luerhchia, described simply as "natives." All three tribal names are certainly not Chinese.

The Hula are probably of Turkish stock. Hola has been noted as a Turkish tribal name,[25] and the difference between Hula and Hola need not be significant, as the names of barbarian tribes are transcribed in Chinese in widely differing forms. Were these Turkish tribes who joined the Shat'o when the Shat'o were founding the Later T'ang dynasty in the tenth century, and did small groups of them take refuge in the Hsining country on the fall of that dynasty? Nothing is said about the time or circumstances of the Hula joining the Shat'o tribes. All that we know for sure is that the Monguors who are subjects of the Li T'u-ssu are of Shat'o Turkish stock, that Hola has been noted as a Turkish name, and that people whose name is rendered by the Chinese in the very similar form of Hula are described as subjects of the Li T'u-ssu. To this may be added the fact that the illustrations of the Chinese text under discussion show the people described as "natives" and those described as "Tibetans" as different from each other.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Luerhchia. Since the Luerhchia and the Hula are the only tribes described in the passage under discussion as T'u rather than Tibetan, and since reasons have been given for believing that the Hula may be of Turkish derivation, it may be also that the Luerhchia should be taken as a group of Turkish stock, subjects of various Monguor

[25] P. A. Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, in *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 305, n. 77. 1936.

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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T'u-ssu. The group must have been large, because its members are said to be subjects in many clans.[26]

As for the twelve Paitieh tribes, described as *Fan* or Tibetans, I have not been able to trace their name among either Tibetan, Turkish, or Mongol tribes. An interesting fact, however, is that in the tax registers these tribes are listed with the first character of the Chinese transcription reading *Chieh*, so as to give a tribal name of Chiehtieh rather than Paitieh. Yet the Monguors use the pronunciation, Paitieh; the village where the Chi T'u-ssu lives is called Paitiehchuang, "Paitieh village," and the name of the valley, which it was the frontier duty of the Chi T'u-ssu to defend, is also Paitieh. Father A. Mostaert calls my attention to the fact that the character *chieh* should according to Pelliot be read *pai* and not *chieh*, as in the dictionaries.[27] It is remarkable that the Monguors should have preserved the correct pronunciation.[28]

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[26] Father Hermanns, in a book received in this country after Father Schram had completed his work (Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 29, Vienna, Herold, 1949) in a list of nomad tribes in the region near the Monguor territory, has the two names Ra gya- and Hor- (the hyphens indicating that they are used in compounding tribal names), in immediate juxtaposition. The appearance of these names, reinforced by the fact that they are in juxtaposition, strongly suggests that they underlie not only the Chinese transcriptions, Luerhchia and Hula, but two transcriptions cited by Father Schram above (pp. 15, 17) which may be held to combine Luerhchia and Hula: Dschiahour, from Huc and Gabet, and Chzhahor, from Potanin, with the explanation that it is a Tibetan name for the Mongols, from Cha = "Chinese" and Hor = "the Tibetan name for the nomadic tribes of North Tibet." Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, previously cited, p. 44, supports Potanin, giving Jya [= Rgya] as "China," and Jya Hor as "the Tibetans along the Kansu [i.e., Chinese] border."

For Luerhchia as a Chinese transcription of Tibetan Rgya (Ra gya—in Hermanns, as above), the initial *L* may seem somewhat unexpected, in view of the tendency of vernacular Chinese to put a vowel in front of an initial *r* in foreign words, so that "Erhchia" might seem more probable than "Luerhchia" as an "unscientific" rendering of Rgya. For the rendering of an initial *r* by an initial *l*, however, see *Loch'a*, for Rossiya, which the Chinese used until, influenced by the Mongol pronunciation Oros, they adopted Êlossu as the Chinese form of "Russia, the Russians."

As for Hor = Hula, Laufer many years ago identified Hor as a Tibetan name for "Turks" (B. Laufer, Was Odoric of Pordenone ever in Tibet? *T'oung Pao* 15: 411, 1914). It would seem that Hor (and Hula as a transcription of Hor) must reflect the same original non-Chinese word or name as *Hu*, one of the most ancient Chinese names for "northern barbarians."

To sum up: this complicated nomenclature results from processes as the result of which, at varying times, groups of frontier Chinese absorbed among the Tibetans could be known "tribally" as Rgya; Hor tribesmen, possibly or probably of Turkish or mixed Turkish derivation, could adhere to Monguor clans; and a term like Rgya-Hor, with a meaning translateable approximately as "Altaic-speaking Chinese" (i.e., "people who speak neither Tibetan nor Chinese, but administratively are identified with China rather than Tibet"), could be used by frontiersmen in an attempt to describe the Monguors to French and Russian travelers at the end of the nineteenth century.—O. L.

[27] P. Pelliot, Les caractères de transcription *wo* ou *wa* et *pai*, *T'oung Pao* 37: 125–134, 1944.

[28] It should be pointed out that there is a possibility that Paitieh is from Bait (Bayit, Bayid, "Wealthy"), an established Mon-

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The suggestion has been made that still another tribal name for people under the rule of the Li T'u-ssu may be concealed under the place name, Tungkou. The written form is unmistakably the Chinese for "Eastern Valley." Rockhill, however, suggested that *-kou* might stand for the first syllable of the name of the Karluk Turks, so that "Eastern *kou*" might stand for "Eastern Kar[luk]."[29] That *-kou* might be related to Kololu or Hololu, two Chinese renderings of the name of the Karluk Turks, seems doubtful, especially as there is no other mention of "Eastern" Karluks. On the other hand Tungkou, "Eastern Valley," is natural in the context, where we find "tribes of the Eastern Valley and adjacent places" and "Tibetans of the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley and vicinity" in the Chinese source that has been quoted above.

That among the subjects of Turkish descent of the Li T'u-ssu and other clans there were Karluks is not impossible, however, and perhaps probable, because travelers and Father De Smedt have heard Monguors say that they were of Karluk stock; but the Chinese text here cited does not mention the fact, and the author says explicitly that the eight tribes of the Eastern Valley are Fan min or Tibetans, descendants of the Western Ch'iang. When this author mentions the Luerhchia, the Hula, and the twelve Paitieh tribes he writes out his versions of their names in full. If he had thought that Tungkou meant "Eastern Karluks," one would expect him to have written it out also in full, as "Tung Kololu" or "Tung Hololu." All of these considerations seem to point to "Eastern Valley" and not "Eastern Karluks" as the meaning of Tungkou.

In conclusion, it seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in Monguor clans are Turks, but not Shat'o Turks, by descent, and that in this context the author of the Chinese text cited means tribes of Turkish descent when he writes of T'u "natives." It will be seen later that the author of this text does not confuse either Mongols or Tibetans with T'u.

These tentative conclusions suggest that there is an important problem yet to be solved. Fathers A. Mostaert and A. De Smedt, authors of the *Dictionnaire Monguor-Français* which has been frequently cited in these pages, and of scholarly studies of the phonetics and morphology of the Monguor language, have established the fact that it is an archaic Mongol dialect with, at present, few Turkish elements. How is it possible that these tribes, if they were in fact largely Turkish to begin with, lost their original idiom to such an extent? Father Mostaert finds a language change of this kind not unusual. Indeed, who can prove at what time these tribes lost their language? Could they not already

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gol tribal name; or it may reflect a Mongol (or Turkish) name, Baitik; *cf.* Baitik (or Baitak) Bogda, "the Holy Baitik [mountains]" between Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang. I have not been able to discover the meaning of this name.—O. L.

[29] Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, as cited, 43.

[p.54b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs
177 from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

3: Schröder--309 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

Conclusion*

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* For the first part of this work, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 1-79, 620-658, 822-870 [the "First Part" above in the HRAF translation]. A supplement to the bibliogtaphy there, pp. 2-4 [see foreign text; the bibliography was not reproduced for the translation], will be found at the end of this article; see below p. 259 [see foreign text].

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Second Part: Analysis

An all-round picture of the Tujen religion can only be drawn within the frame of a broader cultural view, for which the other records from the rich treasure of legends and songs are also utilized. Over and above this, a judgment concerning the cultural and religious historical-relationships requires a comparison [171] with the neighboring Chinese, Tangut, Mongols, and Yugur (1).

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1. A comparison with both the eastern part of north China (Tungus) and the southwest would also be very informative. The tradition of the Tujen speaks of an eastern origin, and the peoples upon whom they are superimposed in the present-day Amdo originally belonged to the Ch'iang, of whom large parts migrated toward the south into present-day Kham, Szechwan, and Yunnan. This conception has been advocated for a long time by the Chinese; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder: Die Fandse, pp. 1 f. It has now been confirmed by Professor Doctor J. F. Rock for the Na-khi. A comparison

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with their religion is justified all the more since it has preserved the pre-Buddhistic form in a much less corrupted state than the religion of the mother country, which lies within the effective range of the Yellow Church (Kumbum); see below, pp. 390 ff. In addition the Na-khi possess a religious literature in which the old customs are unequivocally fixed, and which J.F.Rock has worked over and published; for this whole subject, cf. J.F.Rock, Na-khi Kingdom; id., Naga Cult, I, pp. 2 f., and Muan Bpö, p. 7. Unfortunately, these works, which represent a treasure trove for knowledge of the pre-Buddhist belief in the Chinese-Tibetan border region, could not be adequately quoted here.

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It is true that in the notes of the first part extensive consideration was given to this, so that now it is already established that the religion of the Tujen and of their Lamaistic neighbors do not differ from each other in many ways. A further analysis and summary of the question, however, [203] would grow into a series of special essays that would go too far beyond this work, which, after all, is primarily intended to be a survey.

The present material, however, is ample enough to characterize the basic features of the religious framework, which even a later and more precise treatment will scarcely change. This characterization will be attempted in a cross- and longitudinal section. The one offers a total picture of the religious world-view; the other shows the more or less interpenetrating layers of the religion.

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[784] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which [463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the [792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are [791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the [192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosĕ, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of [791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[215 cont.]

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174 structure that has developed in the course of centuries. It is similar to the religion of the Mongols generally, which Pallisen in his dissertation would like to designate as syncretism. This is found even more among the Kansu Mongols, the Tujen. This syncretism is understandable for two reasons, one psychological and one historical.

Viewed psychologically, the East Asian, including the Mongol, is inclined to negotiation, to compromise, and to understanding toleration. The informant has formulated this accurately: "All religions are good. The goal is the same, only the paths are different" (cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 12)[p. 12 above in the HRAF translation]. One does not want to bind himself exclusively to one particular way, but wants to examine everything from a practical utilitarian viewpoint to see what is conducive to his happiness and well-being. One tries this with all the gods and is gladly prepared to take up into his heaven any useful spirit. Even Christianity in China would [216] long ago have fallen victim to this inclination, if it were not so decisively intent on a dogmatic and ritual separation. Otherwise one could soon rediscover it with its figures of saints, doctrines, and rites, say, in Lamaism, just as in actual fact such an influence is assumed from early Christian times.

The history and distribution of the Tujen has greatly favored this spiritual readiness and has brought them into close contact with the various religions. Whoever the original Tujen may be, all those who have reported about them are agreed that they have an active history of migration behind them and that their basic stock is Mongolic. Aside from their migrations, perhaps for several centuries in their present location, even if they have maintained their linguistic and racial peculiarities, they have had active intercourse with the most varied peoples, such as the Tangut, the former rulers of Amdo, with the Mongols of the various waves of invasion, and finally with the Chinese pressing in after them. Probably their original faith in pre-Lamaistic times was determined extensively by the Bon doctrine of the Tangut, until the Yellow Church from neighboring Kumbum then brought all Amdo under its influence. Finally,

[216 cont.]

771 Chinese civilization, which with agriculture also brought corre-
174 sponding religious customs with it, passed over them, even if it has only slightly penetrated into the religion.

771 This peculiar position, conditioned by history and en-
792 vironment, makes the religion of the Tujen a significant subject
174 in the religious history of Amdo and of the Chinese border region generally, so that it is actually no longer simply a matter of the religion of the Tujen alone. The Tujen monks seem to have been aware of this advantageous position and have actively taken part in the investigation of the forms of belief of the border land, especially that of Lamaism. Through this they have won a certain learned and religio-political influence. An example of this is given by Cybikov in his introduction to the "Lam rim c'en po" (pp. XVI-XVII, translated by W.A. Unkrig), where he speaks of the Ch'ang-chia hutukhtu, who, as is known, comes from the Tujen lamasery Erh-ku-lung: "But whatever the situation may be. The home of the Ch'ang-ch'a hutukhtus occupies such a position between China, Mongolia, the East Tibetans, the Tangut, and formerly also the Uigur, that it had to serve as an arena for the contact between these peoples and for the formation of a tribe in which is embodied the traits of all four of these peoples. If one takes a look at the present-day situation exclusively, without historical considerations, according to our view it has contributed greatly to the fact that these lamas had to gain enormous influence on Tibetan and Mongolic affairs and on the relationship of these peoples to the Manchu dynasty." I found this confirmed when I visited the lamasery there. If we also disregard the observation of Cybikov concerning the ethnic formation of the Tujen, it must nevertheless be admitted that this people has taken over many religious traits from its neighbors. It is therefore also no accident that it was precisely a Tulku (Tuguăn
[538] hutukhtu) from the Tujen monastery [217] who in the eighteenth century wrote the only known Tibetan book about all the Tibetan sects, including the Bon. He had the most varied forms constantly and directly before his eyes, just as even today the religious customs of the Tujen still represent a living catalogue of patterns in this respect.

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771 Now, concerning the elements which make up these customs, they fall almost entirely into four groups, each of which constitutes a special layer. These four layers are: the belief in a supreme god, shamanism, the Bon religion, and Lamaism. The layers, however, cannot simply be taken out of the whole structure, freed from all the extra features, and connected with a larger pervading stratum of the Central Asiatic religions. This is only possible in a larger context and would go beyond the bounds of this work, for the parts in question are of considerable temporal depth and embrace many peoples. In addition these layers have interpenetrated one another in that in each case the later one has absorbed the elements of the preceding ones. Thus, Lamaism, in spite of its original enmity toward the Bon religion, has nonetheless adopted much from it. The Bon faith, on the other hand, in turn has a strong shamanistic base, and an old sky-cult runs through all the layers.

771 128 756 A discussion of the two high religions, of the Bon and of Lamaism, in their connection with the belief of the Tujen would go too far. Shamanism can more readily be delimited, but it cannot be exhaustively presented either. So there remains the old sky-cult as a belief in a supreme god. This will be dealt with quite extensively in the following, whereas in the case of shamanism the presentation must be limited to a theoretical sketch. A special work will deal with it in detail for the whole western Chinese border region. The Bon religion and Lamaism will only be touched upon briefly.

II. The Layers of the Tujen Religion

1. The Belief in a Supreme God

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In this section it is necessary to refer not only to the customs but also to the other sources and the scanty literature. Aside from the DMF and Mariage (by Schram), which offer a sparse yield for the religion, the other sources are still unpublished. [538] They are available in the original texts, however. These are the Geser legend, the agriculture legend, the Moschus deer (the first part of the song cycle known under the name xoni, sheep), and a series of other songs and fairy tales, of which the wedding songs are appearing (Folklore Studies, Tokyo, 1952).

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
192 space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
821 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tieńgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

772 For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
776 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
192 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
● 174 the name tieńgëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tieńgëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 Tengri, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 tengri: ghutschin ghurban Tengri)." "In other words, for
192 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
174 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (op. cit., p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term burxan, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word Burchan or purġan, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many tieńgĕre there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called tieńgĕre. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of tieńgĕre as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The tieńgĕre of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the tengri of the Mongols. Only the word purġan, which corresponds to the Mongolic burxan, has taken over the function of a generic name; purġan signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese fo-yeh, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word purġan.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, tieńgĕre alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it with the Chinese t'ien (heaven) or lao-t'ien (old heaven) or

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kănba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kănba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (Šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgĕre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kănba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (Šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅni ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 ● 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F.Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

[224 cont.]

782 as a combination of a primitial offering with the matutinal in-
174 cense offering. Even these gifts, however, may not have a bad odor, which wholly corresponds with the original meaning of the incense offering. 2. The incense offering, according to these texts, is already very ancient. Even if the legends are distressingly embellished from Lamaism, they nonetheless go
[773] back to pre-Buddhist conditions. This applies especially to the Geser legend. Lamaistic monks in Kumbum emphasize that the legend has nothing to do with their religion. In similar
782 fashion this type of incense offering is declared to be pre-
174 Buddhistic in western Tibet; cf. A. H. Francke, Tibetische
171 Hochzeitslieder, pp. 25 f. (Darmstadt, 1923). The pre-Buddhistic occurrence among the ancient Mongols has already been mentioned. The Tujen are of Mongolic derivation, and they also have religious links with the pre-Buddhist Tibetans, as is shown in the wedding customs and songs (6). -- How far the

6. For the distribution of the incense offering, see Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 49 [pp. 80-81 above in the HRAF translation]. Its occurrence in ancient China also argues in favor of its being pre-Buddhist in character; cf. Jen Nai-Ch'iang-Schröder, Die Fandse, p. 183, where the ancient Chinese burnt offering is equated with the incense offering of the Fandse. The Na-khi juniper incense offering, whose great similarity with the incense offering of the Tujen and the Tibetans cannot be denied, is also pre-Buddhist; cf. the descriptions by J. F. Rock, Naga Cult, pp. 230 ff., and Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 34.

782 incense offering goes back is indicated by the hunting song cycle.
174 It was probably already practiced in the early period of a hunting
[538] culture and from there passed into the herding culture. It is

[224 cont.]
782 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the in-
174 cense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is

[824 773]

7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpö, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense
782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collec-
[776] tive name, are called purgan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. Mountain heights seem to have been preferred
[823] in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

[225 cont.]

782 241 thanksgiving festivals. (Cf. D. Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos 37-40, 1942-45, pp. 867-874.)

That a true heaven-offering is involved is clearly expressed, loc. cit.: "It is already apparent from the entire offering performance and the words spoken in connection with it that it is an offering to heaven. To the question, 'You are therefore making an offering to the gods in the temple?' the old man responded: 'No, [226] we are making an offering to heaven... This offering is a veneration of heaven... I have already said it; we are thanking heaven for the yield of the year. He cares for seed and man and livestock'..." (Anthropos, op. cit., p. 873). The same statement must also apply to the sowing festival at which the ceremonies are almost the same.

782 241 174 Now it is striking that it is precisely in an agricultural rite, sowing and harvest festivals, that a sheep offering takes place. I was later able to visit many such festivals and to determine the actual form, which is more in keeping with the character of agriculture and shamans. In the valleys, namely, in the Chinese area of settlement, no sheep, but -- at least preferably -- a pig is offered. This pig is surrounded with many rites, among which a regular procession with the sacrificed pig takes place. The shamans accompany this procession with drum-beating and prayers. I observed it thus for instance in Tsung-chai and environs. In the mountains, on the other hand, among the Tujen, a sheep is sacrificed preferably, although the Tujen also keep pigs. There remains, therefore, only the one explanation that the original form of these agricultural festivals is connected with a pig offering and that the sheep offering of the Tujen has replaced this as a foreign body. The reason for this lies close at hand. The Tujen, according to their tradition, were once shepherds, and many elements of a herding culture can still be seen among them. With the transition to agriculture, the spring festival of the shepherds evidently became connected with the sowing festival, and the autumn festival of the shepherds with the harvest festival of the agriculturalists. Since, however, the sheep was a sacrificial animal that they were devoted to,

[226 cont.]

782 the Tujen did not want to give up the sheep offering at these
241 festivals. In the description of the festival it is, to be sure, very
174 strongly emphasized that the entire sacrificial rite in the narrower sense (slaughtering, etc.) has nothing to do with the shamans. The offerers are the elders, in other words, laymen. The shaman rite, mainly prayer service and dance, runs alongside it.

Therefore, in the harvest thank-offering and the sowing offering of the Tujen we have before us an old heaven-offering which is consciously fostered by the people and unequivocally applied to heaven.

2) The Prayer

782 What was said above about the spontaneous, unformulated,
788 and freely formulated prayer also applies to the prayer to heaven. Every person can express his need, his request, his gratitude, his feelings to the heavens, just as they come to him. One thing in particular, however, must be noted here. While the formulated prayer, the prayer service, is generally reserved for special professions and the offering more for the people, this does not wholly apply in the case of the prayer to heaven. I was unable to confirm that there are any actual prayers by religious officiants that apply only to heaven. Therefore, concerning the offering and prayer, there is no special class in relation to heaven. Both are the concern of the laymen, of the people, of the masters of the household or of individual persons.

Aside from my own observations, the personal prayer to [227] heaven is sufficiently attested to by the passages that were cited for the incense offering. There is almost always a prayer in connection with it, a supplication (yandzi-) to heaven. And until now a prayer is also always connected with each offering, each kowtow to heaven, at least an inner one. (Cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.) The only prayer formulas of the people in the Tujen language are addressed to heaven, namely: tieńgĕre mudie (heaven knows); and tieńgĕre tsiad sadni wari (heaven, you hold justice). The formula tieńgĕre

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[227 cont.]
782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieṅgĕre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgĕre, uluon purġan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[229 cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Otherwise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in connection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance, the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place, heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The mountain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is altogether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the mountain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless, imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

[553] 756 [787]

● 174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen language. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The customs with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic. It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the mountain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[229 cont.]

174 776 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the [821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The mountain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human [823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 782 After the preceding discussions, the further characteristics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[236 cont.]

171 Heissig, "Shamanen," Folklore Studies, 3, 1944, p. 72, Figs. 1-
756 7; likewise Shirokogorov, Psychomental Complex, pp. 297 f.) The absence of the trance seems to fit in least of all with Siberian shamanism.

The relationship to China. -- First the distribution must be considered. According to personal observations and various reports by the Chinese and missionaries, the fashih type is spread over all of Kansu and Shansi and into the interior of the coastal provinces Hopeh and Shantung. In the Amdo region he is found wherever there are Chinese settlements, especially in the vicinity of Sining and Kweiteh (on the Yellow River). In type he fits in well with an agricultural people, precisely through the emphasis of the harvest ceremony and of the female appearance.

Almost all the origin reports that I was able to gather attest to the descent of the fashih from a woman, a first shamaness. She was brought to life from a female skeleton through a magic incantation by T'ai-shang lao-chün (a title of Lao-tzu) and received from him her shamanistic powers. In southern Hopeh today the fashih are still predominantly women. -- Furthermore, the fashih are always associated with the spirits of the dead and ancestors, which likewise agrees with the Chinese mentality.

[237] The origin legends and the deities also point to a close connection with Wuism or Taoism. (Cf. De Groot, Religious System, Vol. VI, Part II, 1187 ff.) The god-litter with the niang-niang is almost the same as the one pictured there. The Taoists, sworn enemies of the fashih, claim that the latter split off from them as a false sect. Whereas the Taoists represented an official and respected religion, the fashih, as bearers of the shen-chiao (spirit religion), led a despised existence up to the most recent times.

174 The position in Tsinghai. -- Apparently this Chinese
756 shamanism also came to Amdo with the Chinese settlers. There it has adopted various elements, diluted its original shamanistic character, and fostered the cultic group-dance. Since the

[237 cont.]

174 weather conjuration from the Bon was much practiced there, it also took this over, which, indeed, was close to it in type. 752 Probably the weather-conjuring Bon were absorbed by them.

The Tujen have likewise permitted their Mongolic shamanism to flow into this fashih shamanism and have transferred to it the original name, bō. A Tujen bō once said: "We have a common root with the Mongolic shamans." This shamanism has remained remote from Lamaism, as well as from the gurtum; a certain rivalry exists between it and them.

The question of the bō or fa-shih demands an extensive presentation of Chinese shamanism generally, which has already been undertaken.

b) The Gurtum or Warrior-shamans

Characterization

752 292 Appearance. -- Among the Tujen the gurtum wears a red cloak that is held together with a cloth belt, a shoulder collar, a chest mirror, a Lamaistic amulet or a hada (ceremonial cloth) in the chest bag, a headcloth that covers the eyes, a garland of bells around his forehead, and on top of it the five-part Lamaistic crown. The most important piece of his equipment is the sword, without which he does not shamanize at all, so that really one should call the Tujen gurtum a "sword-shaman." He also uses other weapons, however, such as the spirit-spear and the knife. At major ceremonies he also works with sieve, winnowing-fan, and five little paper men called wu-tao shen in Chinese, which could be translated as "five-direction spirits."

The whole type of the gurtum is that of a warrior who exorcises misfortune in the demon battle. Aside from this popular image of his appearance, which is fairly complete, there are also simple, degenerated types who wear only the most necessary equipment, say, the headcloth, the chest [177] mirror, and the sword, even over a modern European suit. At solemn sword battles, however, they also appear in full regalia.

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bö (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

[779] Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bö (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of
779 the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
• 174 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaγan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layiçing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

174 Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
756 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
776 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
779 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

174 [241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word vihārā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoń, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoñ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the protective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'uń oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[243 cont.]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism described here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih 757 in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the [789] Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these fashih (or bö) [244] are very frequently represented precisely in the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any way that the type of the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if the gNas-c'uń oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,

10. The gurtum type of the gNas-c'uń oracle can be linked much better to Gšen-rab itself or to the Dto-mba Shi-lo of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for Dto-mba Shi-lo is Ssu, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, op. cit., p. 77, Pl. 12.

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however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shaman-
776 ism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
756 good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyančí; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also
752 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not
776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors,
752 and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply docu-
776 mented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen
[523] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous
[787] popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like-
[773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[246 cont.]

171 756 page 277, he goes into greater detail regarding the interpretation of these figures: "In the grim faces ... the demoniacal power of these armored knights ... is well represented. The helmet-mask is formed by a bird's head with a strong flavor of the Indian Garuda ... a shawl is elegantly draped around the shoulders, and tied in a knot over the chest, the two iron breastplates being visible beneath it" [cited in English]. -- In other words, the same type of warrior as in the case of the gurtum is involved: with helmet, weapons, shoulder hanging, demon battle, etc. -- Certainly further evidence for ancient China could be cited, say, in conjunction with the recent publications of C. Hentze. -- Likewise such types may be demonstrable for India, Indonesia, and the ancient Near East in connection with the ancient Iranian warrior gods and the corresponding figures in Hinduism, Indra, Shiva, etc.; in this connection cf. R. Bleichstein (based on Grünwedel), op. cit., pp. 111-124.

174 756 825 [773] Warrior shaman and bird. -- The connections between bird and shamanism are stressed often enough in the literature. The bird type of shaman is one of the basic types. Usually, the original ancestor of the shaman, or the first shaman, is a bird or incarnated in a bird. The heroes of the folktales, however, are also often linked with a bird ancestor. For instance, the Geser of the Tujen is supposed to have been sent to earth as a cuckoo. If this relationship applies generally, then the warrior-shaman in particular can be linked with the bird figure. There has been an attempt to show that his armor goes back to the feather armor, in other words, to the shaman attire of the bird type. I cannot go further into the sources here. The feather helmet of the ancient Chinese shaman mentioned by B. Laufer and the feather-ornamented helmet of the gNas-c'un gurtum, as well as the report by Georgi in his "Alphabetum Tibetanum," point in this direction.

174 756 [247] This connection between warrior and bird only becomes meaningful if one understands it as a solarization of the ancestor hero. Both the mythologies of the most ancient Chinese excavations (cf. the works by C. Hentze) and the

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174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
756 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamais-
779 tic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

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174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (characterized by the tree of life, etc.).

756 779 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 791 [778] In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely [787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[248 cont.]

it is true, must have the special ability to "activate" the spear and to interpret its movements in order to learn what the spirit in the spear wants, but he himself is not inwardly filled by it.

On the other hand, the relationship between spirit and spear is much closer. It is the seat of the spirit and is treated as such. Like a shaman it receives a consecration, is clothed with an "official garb": with bands, little bells, and mirrors. The people venerate it like a god that is present. In order to enter actively into a relationship with the world of men through soothsaying, healing, and exorcising evil, or in order to have an active effect on the outside world, this spear-idol needs a middleman who takes it in his hand and to whom it "speaks." This is the "idol-holder," the sdiendzĕn, rten 'dsin. He is not called a shaman, for it is not he, the soothsayer, but the possessed spear that is actually the shaman. The soothsayer is, as it were, merely a living extension of the idol, its loud-speaker.

How is the spear to be classified? As the spear is now used, it is to be regarded as a special kind of idol, as its name as spirit seat already suggests. The Tibetan compound rten-mduñ is not found in Ch. Das. However, analogous to the name sku-rten (gurtum) and corresponding to the character of the spear, the rten can here mean nothing other than container or visible representation of the deity: a weapon as seat of the deity. This suggests the question: Was the spirit-spear independent from the outset, or is it merely the tool of a shaman?

The spirit-spear as independent idol, in other words, not as equipment of the shaman, is distributed throughout the Tujen and agricultural region of eastern Amdo. [249] One finds it frequently in temples and in family chapels, even among the Chinese. To what extent the Tangut nomads there possess it is beyond my knowledge. The spear must have had an independent significance in Lamaism even in early times, however, for one frequently encounters it in Lamic monasteries, and usually in conjunction with other standards (banners). The Geography of the Minchu-Hutukhtu is able to report: "In

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171 778 Nanggardse there is a fearful chapel of the Gur, and in it there is a lance (mdun) which is said by the worshipers to be sacred and is called 'remover of the thirteen enemies of the religion'"; according to W. Unkrig, Ms, p. 14. R. Bleichsteiner writes of a similar banner: "Another narrative reports on the victorious campaign of a barbarian prince across China, Hor and Grug-gug, during which he used a magical flag into which rNam-sras, the world guardian of the north, and eight companions had been conjured" ("Srog-bdag," p. 111).

The spirit-spear can easily be linked with other similar idols, such as Stabongonen, carriage axles, weather clubs, and noodle rollers among the Tujen, all of which are beribboned and hung with little bells and little metal disks. They, too, are used by a soothsayer in exactly the same way as the spirit-spear. This shows that it is merely one among the many shamanistic idols. That such stick-idols are very widespread not only in the Koko Nor region but also in other places in Tibet is shown from a remark by Jäschke: "... the local lha are not always represented by figures resembling human beings, but even by sticks, stones and similar fetishes" [cited in English], p. 599. And on page 7 he speaks of the Pekar idol, also cited by Bleichsteiner, and notes: "... consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags ..."; cf. also Bleichsteiner, op. cit., p. 112. Jäschke adds that this idol is certainly pre-Buddhistic. Such idols can be shown for all of northern Asia as far to the east as the Inao of the Ainu; for example, cf. Joseph Haekel, Idolkult und Dualsystem bei den Ugriern. The shamanistic use, however, seems nowhere to be so well attested to as in the case of the spirit-spear of the Tujen.

A second link can be established from the spirit-spear to the standard, flag, or banner. The spear as standard is an anciently known article, as are its sacredness and its veneration in the flag or standard cult. This cult was practiced above all by the Mongols in the form of the sülde veneration. Now [174] it is well possible that this very sülde cult was "co-converted" to Lamaism along with the conversion of the Mongols, especially

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since the Buddhists in their victory banner, the rgyal-mtsan, had similar conceptions. The Mongolic Tujen would naturally also have taken part in this change. Probably the spear-standard was at the same time also regarded as ancestor spear or clan idol; this fact is established beyond doubt for the nine-tipped sülde of Genghis Khan. His spirit and his force have their seat in this sülde; further details and relationships unfortunately cannot be presented here; for that, cf., for example, the descriptions by W. Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," in Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 25, 1927, pp. 110-115. In any case, it is striking how [250] each ayil (clan settlement) of the Tujen is intent upon possessing a spirit-spear. Similar ideas can also be shown elsewhere. For example, the Bhil in India are acquainted with the clan spear at religious functions; see W. Koppers, "Die Bhil ...," pp. 182 ff. Even more clearly does the similarity with the spirit-spear and the connection with the clan appear in the case of the clan standard of the Chewsur [Khevsur]. The form of this standard with its bands, the little bells, the ball-knob, etc. can scarcely be distinguished from the spirit-spear of the Tujen. Also, their clan priest is practically a shamanistic soothsayer who works with the spear standard. In view of the great significance that the standards had among the Turks and Mongols (tuq-banner) and in view of the lively history of these peoples, influences and relics in the Caucasus are to be assumed from the first; cf. Radde, The Chewsuren, pp. 100 ff., and Nioradze, Begräbnis, pp. 10 ff. -- Sacral spears are abundantly known in Africa, as are the gods' standards in the ancient Orient. The hitherto not properly explainable Scythian pole appendages with their hooks and prongs, perhaps for little bells and other hangings, may also belong here. It is altogether possible that all these standards are not simply representations and localizations of deities, but were also used shamanistically in the manner of the spirit-spear or the clan standard of the Chewsur.

Further connections also seem to exist between the spirit-spear and the world-tree or the world-axle. One should think for instance, of the cosmic significance of the jewel-spear in the Japanese creation mythology, where it has a

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lance having been implanted in the celestial vault, the hero climbs all the way up with the help of the pennant" [translated from French].

However frequently the spirit-spear is used independently of a true shaman among the Tujen, it nonetheless is frequently enough part of the equipment of the gurtum. In his hand it is an important weapon. Just as the weapons and the armor of the ancient hero-ancestors endow him with special powers, so doubtless also does the ancestor spear. In the already-cited Geser legend of the Tujen, Geser takes the heavenly weapons for himself, which are all provided with the adjective sdier, for instance, sdier lĕmu, sdier sĕmu, etc., sacred arrow and bow. The things designated with sdier, however, are all adorned in a manner similar to the spirit-spear, above all with the colorful bands. This is supposed to express a consecration, a sacral character. -- Now, however, when there is no true shaman, nothing remains but to make the spirit-spear independent.

It must represent the shaman and accordingly receives a perfected outfit and an additional consecration, whereby, as original weapon, it becomes an independent idol. It becomes tutelary-spirit possessed. As seat of the sülde it is from the outset already especially fitted for this. Since, however, it is not alive and cannot appear as a human being, [252] a man is appointed for it, the soothsayer. The latter takes over part of the operations of a true shaman, but without becoming the seat of a spirit himself. There takes place, as it were, a distribution of shamanistic functions: the essential, inner ones are peculiar to the spear; the unessential, outer ones to the soothsayer (13).

13. The shaman attire in other regions also has great similarity with the spear as spirit seat and effective unity with the shaman. It is "saturated" by spirits, who give signs of life by trembling, moving, etc.; cf. Eliade (Shirokogorov), Le Chamanisme, p. 143. Even though the spear as shaman equipment shares this property with the attire, this alone

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791 779 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic [765 534] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, [174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between 178 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares 791 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in 779 its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much 791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance. 779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

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Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

In the course of the work it became increasingly clear that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

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174 only the language with the folk literature still remains, perhaps
771 also the dress, but above all the tradition and the written history, which are chiefly contained in Chinese reports. This does not mean that the religion and ethnology are not to be considered; rather, they must be drawn upon in a complementary and explanatory fashion. [259] It is too late, however, to arrive at clear results in a purely folkloristic or ethnological way. That might still have been possible perhaps 50 years ago.

174 Now, however, the Sinicization of the Tujen approaches
177 its conclusion. For a long time with respect to religion they had
771 a strong support in the Lamaistic world and defied the Chinese influence, although they had taken over their agriculture many generations ago. Today, however, they have detached themselves from this support; indeed, the support itself has already become very decayed. The reasons for this cannot be discussed here. The Tujen are giving up themselves, their language, their religion. When their children have become grandparents, Chinese culture will again have incorporated into itself a new domain which will be differentiated from the other provinces only insofar as the Chinese proverb can be applied: "At ten miles the language is different, at a hundred the custom." -- And yet all are "Chinese." [The supplement to the bibliography appears here; see foreign text.]

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764 As soon as no sign of life can be seen from the dead person, he is immediately put in a crouching position, before the corpse becomes rigid, on the kang on which he died (3). With

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3. [Foreign text pp. 651-652.]
The conceptions of the people vary concerning the crouch-box and the crouch-seat. Nothing concerning an ancient origin is known to them. Some believe that the corpse is put in a crouching position only because otherwise it would not fit in the death-box; in this case the box is viewed as primary and more important. The informant says to this that formerly the Tujen were unacquainted with cremation and did not have any death-boxes either. This was first introduced by the lamas. The dead were exposed on the mountains for the animals to devour, as the Fandse do today. He himself would prefer to be buried in Chinese fashion; he feared being tied up and cremated.

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Others maintain that the Tujen buried their dead in coffins in former times. As proof they cite the case of an old Tujen village in Yungchwan where coffins were exposed by a mountain slide; these stemmed at least from the early Ming period. This evidence, however, indicates little when one considers that as early as the Han period Chinese military expeditions took place in the nearby Huchu valley.

Even without cremation, however, the death-box is found in Tsinghai, for instance, in the Bengbar Valley, a branch

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, sōwā guei wōldzia, he has departed sitting, in Chinese tsuo-hua, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word sō- can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who, in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, T'aishan-Kūfu Guide, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (hsien-

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.]
jen tung). -- For the sitting burial in eastern Tibet, cf. Tafel, Tibetreise, I, 236-237, with drawing.

It is known everywhere that Tulkus and other lamas are cremated. In this connection cf. the description in Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 240-242. In the case of the sitting position of the lamas, the Taoist monks, and those who died in contemplation, however, the position is that of a sitting Buddha, with legs folded under and the hands at rest, whereas the position among the Tujen and the Chiafandse is quite different, namely, the fetal position.

Other explanations of the Tujen, perhaps the most widespread, say that the human being rests in this position in the mother's womb and is born so; naked and in the same position he then again goes back into the womb of rebirth, just as he came (reversed, to be sure). In this comparison, the earth or fire as the symbol of motherhood thrusts itself upon one, and the death-box (or among other peoples the sack or coffin) as symbolic womb. -- This explanation of the people has the most to it. It is grounded in very ancient religio-cosmogonic thought processes which closely connect birth and death. Skeletons in a crouching position occur from many cultures, and people in a fetal crouching position are repeatedly represented in the archaic high cultures, and to be sure in connection with the devouring

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[Note on foreign text p. 651-652 cont.] figures (Chin. t'ao-t'ieh) and the underworld. Professor C. Hentze in his most recent works has extensively revealed these connections, and one is referred to them here. -- I learned nothing concerning the conception that the dead must be placed in a sleeping position, although it is known that the nomads there on the Koko Nor sleep in this position, which can sometimes also be observed among Chinese and Tujen during the day.

764 the arms bent, the hands are put with the palms together and pressed upright against the chest so that they touch the chin. The thumbs are not crossed. The wrists are tied together with a hemp string and this is placed around the neck so that the hands stay together and cannot fall forward. Then the thighs are pressed firmly against the chest and arms and the calves against the thighs, so that the feet and seat rest in one plane. The feet are wound with a hemp string so that they will stay in position (4). Now one takes a quadrangular piece of cloth,

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4. [Foreign text p. 652.] The binding of the corpse is not regarded as tying down the dead person to prevent him from returning, as is the intention among the Chinese with the tying together of the feet. The informant claims that the binding has only the purpose of making the crouching position secure.

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In view of the otherwise common use of sheep wool, it is striking that only hemp strings are taken. As a reason the people say that if one took wool, the dead would be reborn as an

[833 cont.]

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[791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[856 cont.]
782 indicates precisely to the foot the spot where the urn is to be
[791] buried; he likewise determines the depth. Usually this is one
[787] to two ells. A few cypress twigs are put on the floor of the pit. Over them the soothsayer scatters a few barley kernels with the tip of the spear, and one or more flat white stones, depending on how many urns there are, are put on the whole, and the urn is put on it. Then on top of the urn is put a flat white stone, like a lid. Finally the space between the urn and wall is stuffed all around with cypress twigs, and everything is filled with earth, stamped down, and made level. Then the men burn cypress incense and kowtow in front of the urn thus buried.
[792] The lama remains seated on his mat in front of it for some time yet and finishes his prayers. Then all go home.

Details

782 The urn: The urn is an ordinary clay vessel such as is
415 baked in Tsinghai. Usually they are of whitish-yellow color, about 20 to 30 centimeters high, with a thick belly and a narrow neck. The urn for the earth-spirit must be uncolored and unglazed, at least on the outside, and must have a flat bottom. The master of the household buys the urn himself, washes it
[386] [857] thoroughly, and paints it on the outside with gypsum or lime water, for only white urns are given to the earth-spirit. At the conclusion, it is fumigated and ready for use by the lama.

782 Contents of the urn: There are five kinds of grain in the
824 urn, namely: blue Tibetan barley, red wheat, white barley, white rice (2), and yellow rape. The spices are the same as at

2. [Foreign text p. 858.] Why white is used twice here, white barley and white rice, is unclear. Otherwise rice is never used among the five kinds of grain and is not even present in Tsinghai. Perhaps this is an indication of a southern origin of the urn.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed by the shamans against hail is called, all over the country, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint. 756 776

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris*, the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen*, the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Monguors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same. 756 184 [174]

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

[p. 88(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

villages neighboring the Monguors? This assumption, it seems, should be considered because of the fact that so many Chinese who use the formula are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and that so many Monguors who have lost their identity to the extent of having lost their own language, and being ashamed to assert their Monguor origin, boast of being Chinese, and of belonging to a more civilized culture.[25]

XI. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITHOUT REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

SACRED ANIMALS IN PRIVATE FAMILIES

Monguors do not honor the "spirit of Heaven" as a family deity nor do they perform, at present, bloody or non-bloody sacrifices to Heaven. Non-bloody sacrifices, in which the animal is not killed but allowed to wander at will, are a real economic sacrifice because the animal cannot be sold or put to profitable use; but this practice does not really fit the frame of an agricultural economy because the sacred animals cause a lot of damage in the fields. It even happens, as has been noted, that persons are injured and killed by sacred bulls. No wonder that the Chinese, devoted to agriculture, do not practice this rite in China. The Monguors, however, are very fond of the rite, which originated in the nomadic economy, and this fact betrays the original economy in which their ancestors lived.

Almost every Monguor family has its own consecrated animal, which usually is a female sheep—seldom a ram.

On the third day of the New Year, the animal is led into the courtyard. The whole family is in a hustle and bustle washing the feet and the fleece of the animal, and devotedly combining the fleece. Never before has the animal enjoyed such a fine appearance. The sheep is led into the living room before the picture of the deity protector of the family. All the members of the family kneel devoutly with burning incense sticks in their joined hands. They look on with feverish anxiety as the chief of the family pours milk, mixed with water, first on the head of the animal, then into its ears. The sheep frantically shakes its head and at that very moment the whole family starts prostrating itself three times toward the picture of the deity and then toward the animal, smiling, crying with happy enjoyment *"ling liao"* ("the deity accepts our offer"). Thus, the animal is supposed to be consecrated. The family are in a happy mood, with a gleam in their eyes, for the deity will protect the cattle. The more frantically the sheep shakes its head, the better it augurs for the future.

The incense sticks are planted before the picture of the deity honored in the family and the chief of the family and all its members attach red and yellow ribbons

[25] Schröder, Das Herbst-Dankopfer der T'u-jen im Sining-Gebiet, *Anthropos* 37–40: 867, 1952.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 554 [466] into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 217 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 62 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [428] M [182] [168] [428]

/The Kazakhs/

S 4. Work and leisure

563 The division of labor between men and women is like that of
M the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing
462 and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their
533 hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their
535 dance is simple.
[191]

It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their expert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horseback. There are three which may be played by all ages. One, similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep."
S 563
K 526 Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horsemen participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

N F. The Mongours
*563

1. The people

M The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north
13 bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to
36 cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the
371 valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were for-
N merly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two
*563 major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow
M River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of
614 people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common
622 chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace
[195] their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.

N The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers.
*563 One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols;
M another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-
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/The Monguors/

N *563 M 144 174 sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, N *563 meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule M 648 175 311 of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

N *563 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342 The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables M [343] and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The M [231] Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [594] The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort M [354] [352] of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592 The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-